1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

Macedonia, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

Thrace, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

Thessaly, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

The Dodecanese Islands, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Cyclades Islands are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

The Ionian Islands, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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Peloponnesos
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do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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these views during the last century and the early part of this century, when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much tangible evidence to support it, would place these Wallachians as descended from Balkanites of Roman times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, the Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years, and some would go away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Thessalonike, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago — for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania — were centers of culture and wealth. With the coming of railroads, their caravans were no longer so necessary; and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years, free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

This, in a brief and general way, is the background of these Vlach nomads. In the days under the Turks, early in the century, when Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece were claiming large chunks of Macedonia, each tried to make a case for large groupings of its own people. The Vlachs, chiefly Greek Orthodox in religion and with a knowledge of Greek as well as their own Romance language, were claimed by the Greeks as their own. Many Vlachs agreed with this, despite the appeals made by Rumanians to the contrary.

My chief contacts with the Koutso-Vlachs during 1953 were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece. On the road between Arta and Ioannina, for example, one bold young shepherd girl named Maria, seeing women (my wife and the interpreter) in the car with me, asked for a ride. She was Koutso-Vlach and was on a nine-day trip back to the summer village in the mountains which she considered her permanent home. We passed some of her companions leading

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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Sarakatsani	5,956
Arvanito-Vlachs (Karagouni)	786
Koutso-Vlachs	3,409
Greek peasants (like Valtetsi people)	3,549

He also gave the following distribution, by families, of the Sarakatsani, the type of people we had visited at Kalpaki:

Western Thrace	699
Macedonia	1,499
Thessaly	794
Roumele	1,112
Epirus	492
Peloponnesos	1,390
	5,986

This book also indicated that there in Epirus I was in the center of the Karagouni group, since relatively few of their 786 families were geographically much farther eastward or southward.

The next afternoon, with Christos Berates, we headed into the countryside and saw within a mile of town his camp of four tents up on the left. Since his flocks had not yet arrived, he was somewhat disturbed and asked if we could drive back toward Kalpaki to meet them. We passed at least eight other flocks whose shepherds Berates knew and with whom he talked briefly. These shepherds were very happy to accept the cigarettes we offered, but they were both awed and mystified — to Berates' delight — at seeing him riding in an American car. They kept telling him that his flocks must be quite far behind. Even when a flock came into view at some distance, Berates could tell it was not his by the sound of the bells. His anxiety grew as dusk came on and we saw no more flocks on the road. Then suddenly he asked us to stop. He said, "they are over there!" and pointed far to the left. Sure enough, we heard the faint tinkle of bells and then about two hundred yards away saw the sheep coming. His flock, taking a short cut, had left the main route. He called to the shepherd and found that everything was in good order. Reassured, Berates was ready to go back to the camp to wait for his sheep.

We had to leave the car along the main highway and scramble up the high bank before finding the path that led us up the hill. There in a row, about ten feet apart, stood the four tents of brown homespun waterproof mohair, each stretched on a frame consisting of three poles tied at the top. The first tent was that of Christos and his son and daughter. A small fire of *pournari* (the evergreen oak with hollylike leaves) was replenished with fuel cut by a small, sharp ax. In that tent alone were seven big woven duffel bags, stuffed full of household goods or clothes. The floor of the tent was

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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words, while their problems are growing, they are now gaining the constitutional means of handling them. They may feel oppressed economically, but they are not politically oppressed.

When I asked Berates if he wanted to settle down, he said that it was all right for the small livestock owners, but that it was impossible for a large owner like himself with eight hundred sheep. He would keep on trying to make a go of it as he had done in the past. When asked how he would feel if he did not have to move up to the mountains, his immediate reply was, "I would get sick," and all of the other men nodded their heads affirmatively. "I even have to go to the same spot, not just anywhere up the mountains. And the sheep need the change, too. They got sick during the war when they were not able to make the change."

The Disappearing Tselingata

One of the interesting types of cooperative organization which I hoped to find in Epirus was that of the *tselingata*. I had heard that, just as the agricultural peasants have their village community, so the shepherds in the past grouped themselves under a chief shepherd who directed their activities and also represented the whole group before the outside world. I had also been told that this form of association was found among the nomadic groups but that it was not necessarily identified solely with them.

A clear account of this primitive but practical shepherds' cooperative is contained in a helpful book by K. Koukkides entitled *The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greece and of Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World*.[18] In this arrangement each sheep and goat owner contributes his flock as capital and his labor. This union is usually governed by the eldest shepherd, who is called *architselingas* (chief shepherd), and who looks after the organization of the union, rents the pasture land, allots land to each according to the quality of land and to the different categories of animals to be grazed, specifies the work that each member will do, and makes payment for all of the necessary common expenses. In addition, he obtains credit to cover the living expenses of each member and the member's family, regulates the amount paid to each shepherd, pays taxes and any field damage done, and acts as the banker and the "grocer" of the union. At the end of each period he subtracts all these expenses from the general income or fund which has accumulated from the sale of the milk, wool, sheep, and cheese, gives back to his colleagues whatever is due each according to the flock he has brought into the union and according to the personal work he has done, such as pasturing, transporting milk to the cheese plant, milking, making cheese and other dairy products, and taking the goods to the market.

The quantity of milk is estimated according to the number of animals each shepherd has, so that if animal diseases occur in the merged flock the loss will be shared by everybody. An important part of the net profit is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

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These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[12]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

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The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

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[VII]

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[1]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival.

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units.

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers.

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures.

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees.

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Notes

Chapter I. The People of Greece

1. This version of the legend was told by an old shepherd to a hunting party which had taken refuge in his hut from a storm brewing over Lake Stymphalia in the northern Peloponnesos. Mrs. Bessie Adossides, who served as my interpreter, had been in the party and told the story to me. For a less colorful version, see A. W. Gomme, *Greece* (London, 1945), p. 11.

2. A prominent subgrouping running through these three divisions is that of the Asia Minor and other refugees who were settled in Greece in the 1920s. Also, divisions among the city Greeks appeared following the French Revolution, when commercial opportunities opened up, creating a new merchant bourgeoisie in contrast to the "old patriarchal class whose members were the political administrators of the Sublime Porte and whose strength lay in landed wealth and special prerogatives." See S. G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Korais: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942), p. 38.

3. S. Manolas, in a personal conversation, pointed out three factors accounting for the settlement in cities of Greeks coming to America: as "late" immigrants, there was little land available to them for homesteading; they came over individually — not as families — and could not run a farm; they were not here to work the land, for Greece was still their home. They wanted to make money and go back, staying on here to take care of "one more dowry, one more acre to buy." For many, time ran out and they did not go back. To these one might also add the Greek's unfamiliarity with the mechanized agriculture found in the United States and the greater ease with which he found employment in the cities.

4. This point of view is borne out in an article by Anton-Hermann Chroust, "Treason and Patriotism in Ancient Greece," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1954: "The democrats, like the oligarchs, bore their native city a quite strange kind of love: the desire to dominate it completely and, if necessary, to exterminate their political antagonists. . . . It would be difficult, indeed, to find a prominent Athenian politician, irrespective of his political persuasion, whose public actions were not motivated by partisanship or loyalty to some faction or club within the city rather than by true patriotism," p. 287.

5. The books dealing with the history of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania usually discuss the role of the Greek clergy in the spread of Greek culture. As one example, see N. Forbes and others, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915).

6. A good characterization of the city Greek by Dorothy Lee appears in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 79: "The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 983 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi* by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans, and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Similarly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peasants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long, least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons.

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export.

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks.

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On
433 the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

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and thus made good a claim for 27 stremmata. The original squatters' rights had been apportioned on the basis of the amount of land actually tilled by a given family, and as a man or a boy could scarcely cultivate more than about 27 stremmata single-handed with the sort of equipment they had, the old families received about as much land as they had had before. The difference was that the sons escaped from parental control earlier than they would otherwise have done, since title to their share of the land was now vested individually, not, as traditionally, in the parental family as a whole.

The squatters of 1912 had not occupied all the cultivable land. When they had all received their lots, therefore, almost an equal number of refugees, mostly from the Caucasus area, were settled on the remainder. The two groups stood more or less apart, especially at the beginning. Many of the customs of the Caucasus people seemed wild and barbarous to the old settlers. But because the old settlers felt little or no sense of grievance, and because each family was very nearly on a level of economic equality, with 27 stremmata apiece, the fissure between the two groups was not great. Nevertheless, the houses of the old settlers are still separated by about one hundred yards from those occupied by the refugees, so that the village is physically divided into two quite distinct parts.

In 1932 a supplementary land distribution took place, giving families with more than four members an additional 5 stremmata; in 1937 a further adjustment was made when forty-three families removed to a newly drained area in the valley of the Aliakmon River, and left their allotments behind, to be reassigned in chunks of 5 stremmata to the larger families of Nea Eleftherohori. No further official changes have since been made, but the natural processes of death and inheritance have resulted in the splitting up of a few of the allotments into smaller farms, while in some cases formerly separate allotments have been

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The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands controlled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

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strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Eleftherohori is to say that during the past five or six years commercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsistence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabitants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-respecting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy members of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

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riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured, the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it. In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 stremmata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refugees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes marry young and before the new family has any assured means of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

The birth records of the village show what has been accomplished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate.

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches.

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism.

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233